

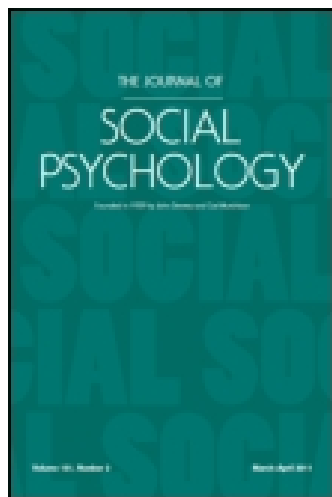
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Social Values of Teachers in Rio De Janeiro, Mexico City, and Los Angeles County, California: A Comparative Study of Teachers and Children

Harold H. Anderson^a & Gladys L. Anderson^a

^a Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, USA

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SOCIAL VALUES OF TEACHERS IN RIO DE JANEIRO,
MEXICO CITY, AND LOS ANGELES COUNTY,
CALIFORNIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF TEACHERS AND CHILDREN*¹

Department of Psychology, Michigan State University

HAROLD H. ANDERSON AND GLADYS L. ANDERSON

A. BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

In the summer of 1952 we participated in a seven-week's Workshop on "Modern Psychologies and Education," in Frankfurt/Main, Germany. The discussions in the Workshop seemed to confirm rather consistently the assertions of writers, both before the War and after, that Germany is a highly authoritarian culture. If, by comparison with the United States, Germany were different, how early would these differences manifest a tangible effect upon children? What would be the nature of such effects? Would there be a reliable way to describe or record the impact of an authoritarian culture on children? Could tangible data be gathered?

By the end of the Workshop we had an opportunity to initiate a cross-cultural study. We could think of no psychological instruments, procedures, or precedents for getting answers to our questions. Without hope of defining authoritarianism to the satisfaction of ourselves or of anyone else we decided to write a set of incomplete stories as a possible technique. We assumed that children in any German city would see human relations differently from children in any United States city. We wrote six incomplete stories. After consultation with educators and friends in Karlsruhe, Germany, the stories were translated into German and administered by a German research assistant to some 1,200 boys and girls in the seventh school year.

The purpose of this research program has been to develop and test an instrument that would be sensitive to cross-national similarities and differences and to examine children's responses in the light of certain hypotheses.

* Received in the Editorial Office on June 6, 1962, and given prior publication in accordance with our policy on cross-cultural research.

¹ A paper presented at a Symposium on Cross-cultural Studies of Children and Adolescents. Annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 19 February 1962.

B. METHOD

1. General Procedure

a. Materials. The *Anderson Incomplete Stories*, a projective technique, elicit fantasy material from the child. *Series A* contains six short incomplete stories: each story presents a social conflict. Two stories present a conflict between a child and a parent; two, a conflict between a child and a teacher; and two, a conflict between one child and another child. In each story the child has made a mistake. *Series B* presents five such stories, in three of which an adult (father, mother or teacher) has made a mistake. The stories were designed to represent experiences common to children in the Western cultures.

b. Administration. The administration of each series as a group test requires one school period. The teachers do not participate in the administration and both children and teachers are told that the teacher and principal will not see the stories which the children write. The children are told not to sign their names. The children are told further that there are no right answers and no wrong answers, and that they will not be marked for these papers. They are asked to complete the stories as they honestly think the stories will end.

c. Sampling. Samples of school rooms of children about equally divided between boys and girls, contain children from high, middle and low socioeconomic levels as determined by school authorities. Our samples are large, but they are not random, nor stratified, nor do they represent "National Character," nor can they be said to represent even the communities in which we worked.

d. Subjects. The original purpose was to test the instrument with children in Germany and in the United States. A first sampling was gathered in Karlsruhe in 1952; a second sampling in Knoxville, Tennessee. Following an additional pilot study in Braunschweig, Germany, samples were obtained in Hamburg and Munich in 1954. In the United States additional samples have been obtained from Benton Harbor, Michigan, in the north; Cedar Rapids, Iowa (sixth grade), in the middle west; and San Juan, Puerto Rico, where the language is Spanish.

The inter-cultural scope was broadened by samplings from Birmingham, England; Drammen, Norway; Stockholm, Sweden; Helsinki, Finland; Mexico City and three Indian villages of rural Mexico: Tecómitl, Tepoztlán, and Chiconcuac; and in 1959, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The *Anderson Incomplete Stories*, in seven languages, have now been

administered to over 10,000 children in the fourth and seventh grades in these eight countries. With the exception noted above, data from seventh grade children are used in this report.

e. Acknowledgments. The collection of data has been possible only through the generous and cordial cooperation of many persons, including educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, school administrators, principals, teachers, and university students. We are especially grateful to the members of local research teams, organized from university staff and students, who have worked with us during our stay in each locality. A number of specific acknowledgments have been made in previous publications.

f. Translation. The children's story completions have been translated into English.

g. Content analysis and coding. Separate coding manuals have been devised for content analysis of the children's story completions. Independent coders have shown percentages of agreement of over 90. Two of the stories are included in this report. The categories which are discussed here were selected because they were regarded as important from the stand-point of values in human interacting, and therefore related to concepts of creativity; they serve to demonstrate the method and the nature of the findings in cross-national comparisons.

h. Creativity and cross-national research. This cross-national study, begun in 1952, has since 1957 been a part of a research program in Creativity supported by a research grant. We are interested in creativity not so much from the standpoint of painting and sculpture, as from the point of view of social creativity in human relations (8, 10). There are different ways of regarding creativity (2, 3, 4, 5, 7). From our perspective of personality development and productivity, creativity is first to live truthfully. It is to live and to communicate truthfully as one himself sees the truth. To live merely according to the truth as anyone but himself sees the truth is not creativity, but conformity or defense. We regard these statements as axiomatic: that they hold for Plato and Picasso, for Michelangelo and for Einstein. From these axioms certain corollaries follow. To the extent that behavior is characterized by truth and honesty it is undistorted by the needs for defense. It can thus be said to have a high validity by an internal criterion: honesty means that within the limits of one's own perceptions, one is what he purports to be. Creativity is also to live harmoniously, without distortions of threat or defense and with freedom to communicate validly.

The environment can become a facilitator of creativity mainly in two ways, both essential: (a) by *accepting* the person as he is; and (b) by *stimulating*

him through the confronting and free interplay of differences. This is our definition of democratic relating. That is, the humans in the environment facilitate creativity in the person to the extent that they permit him to live harmoniously in an open environment where new ideas can emerge and can be honestly communicated; and to the extent that they stimulate him in non-threatening ways.

Persons in the environment restrict creativity in the individual to the extent that they do not *accept* him and furthermore to the extent that they do not *stimulate* him through the free interplay of differences. In a restricting environment, instead of an Open System (7, 8) of interrelating there is a Closed System of environmental demands, threats, guilt and tabus, and other kinds of personal encroachments and usurpations.

The corollaries can be restated to relate more specifically to our cross-national study. By definition a closed restricting environment (Closed System) is to be found in greater extent in cultures traditionally known as dominating or authoritarian. By definition, also, the more Open System which fosters creativity will be found in those cultures regarded as less authoritarian or, as we might say, more democratic.

2. Hypotheses

The hypotheses grew out of previous research on democratic and dictatorial teacher-child relations in American school rooms (1, 14, 15). It was assumed that the same differences in child behavior found in American school rooms would be found to exist in more extensive samplings of democratic and dictatorial cultures. The principal hypotheses of the cross-national research may be stated as follows:

(1) Children brought up in a more authoritarian and dominating culture are different in their inter-personal relations from children in less dominating (more democratic) cultures.

(2) Children in a more authoritarian culture will show *significantly higher* frequencies of expressions of defense mechanisms: i.e., responses of anxiety, lying, cheating, deception, daydreaming, escape from reality, ambiguous unstructured relating, conformity, guilt, submission, and also of aggressive, intolerant, and punitive behavior.

(3) Children in an authoritarian culture will also show *significantly fewer* responses of honesty, responsibility, sense of fair play, social problem solving, communication, spontaneity, cooperation, and harmonious, integrative behavior. These qualities of behavior are considered basic to a concept of creativity and of social invention in human relations. They are also regarded

as basic to high levels of mental health. Expressions of such behavior are expected in greater frequencies in democratic or less authoritarian cultures.

(4) It was assumed that samplings from Germany would be higher in reflecting an authoritarian culture and that samplings from England and the United States would be lower. After our first work in Mexico we learned that Mexican psychiatrists and psychologists frankly and openly regard their culture as highly authoritarian.

3. *Values*

We assumed that the children's story completions would reflect the choices that children and adults make in the processes of human interacting. In this sense the choices represent values, those qualities in human relating which the person regards as necessary, important, or traditional (6).

In previous analyses (9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19) of our data from three German locations, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, and Munich, we have found rather consistently that when the Hamburg children differed from children in Karlsruhe or Munich, the Hamburg children tended to write stories more like those from Birmingham, England, or Benton Harbor, Michigan. That is, Hamburg data are interpreted as reflecting more democratic values than are found in Karlsruhe or Munich.

In the summer of 1961 it was possible to return to Mexico and Brazil where we explored further the problem of cultural interpretation of values inherent in our data.² We had two objectives: (a) We invited Mexican

² This part of the study was made under partial support of a grant from the Office of International Programs, Michigan State University.

In connection with the gathering of data from teachers in Mexico City we acknowledge our special gratitude for authorization and assistance to Dr. Luis Weckman-Muñoz, Chief, Department of Technical Assistance, Secretary of Public Education, Ministry of Education; Prof. Humberto Ramos Lozano, Chief of Secondary Education, Ministry of Education; Dr. Fernando Palacios-C., Coordinator of Research, Instituto Federal de Capacitacion Magisterio; Prof. Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, Ph.D., M.D., Chief, Laboratory of Experimental Psychology, National University of Mexico.

For authorization and assistance in gathering data from the teachers in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, we are specially indebted to Anisio S. Teixeira, Ph.D., General Secretary, National Institute of Educational Studies, Ministry of Education, Rio de Janeiro; Dinah de Souza Campos, M.A., Director of In-service Training, National Institute of Educational Studies, Ministry of Education, Rio de Janeiro; Da Lucia Marques Pinheiro, Chief, Training Division, Brazilian Center of Educational Research, Rio de Janeiro.

For making arrangements for the gathering of data from teachers in the Los Angeles County Schools we are grateful to Dr. Harold J. Reed, Consultant, Division of Research and Guidance, Los Angeles County Schools.

A preliminary report of the findings for the teachers, "Social Values of Teachers in Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, and Los Angeles County, California," presented to the VII Congress of the Inter American Society of Psychology, Mexico City, 21 December 1961, will be published in the Proceedings of the Congress.

psychologists, psychiatrists, and educators to interpret from the point of view of the Mexican culture our findings on Mexican children in comparison with the results from children in the other locations. Similarly we asked experts in Brazil to interpret in terms of their cultural values the findings from children in Rio de Janeiro. (b) A second objective of the trip to Mexico and to Brazil in 1961 was to enlist the aid of teachers in defining the range of cultural values involved in the situations described in the *Anderson Incomplete Stories*. We asked teachers to complete the same stories which we had previously administered to children. But instead of asking the teachers, as we asked the children, to finish the stories by writing what they honestly think happened, we used different instructions with two groups of teachers.

a. *The control group.* With one group of teachers, which we have designated a *Control Group*, we asked the teachers to finish the stories as they think seventh-grade children would complete them.

b. *The ideal group.* With the other group we asked the teachers to finish each story in a way that would be *best* for all persons involved in the story. Thus, with these teachers we attempted to secure what to each teacher was a cultural "ideal." Her story would have a global perspective of what was best for all persons involved in the story.

c. *Procedure with the teachers.* Our procedure was as follows: In Mexico City we went to certain schools in which in 1953 we had gathered data from children. By arrangement with the school administrators we left with the school principal or the school counselor Series A and Series B of the *Anderson Incomplete Stories* to which was attached a page of mimeographed instructions. The teachers in Mexico City wrote the stories at school or at home and returned them unsigned and unidentified to the principal or to the counselor.

In Rio de Janeiro the teachers came to a small auditorium where the incomplete stories were administered in one session. The incomplete stories with attached instructions for the *Control Group* and for the *Ideal Group* were distributed to alternate rows of teachers without mentioning a difference in the instructions. We noted that the last 25 teachers to leave were all in the *Ideal Group*.

In January 1961 the stories, with instructions for the *Ideal Group*, had been completed by teachers in Los Angeles County, California. The procedures were similar to those used in Mexico City.

The following tabulation gives the numbers of Ss, both children and teachers, used in this report:

		SUBJECTS					
		A-2, Lost Meat			A-5, Broken Window		
Location		Seventh-grade children	Control group	Teachers Ideal group	Seventh-grade children	Control group	Teachers Ideal group
Continental USA	(USA)	683	0	50	672	0	50
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	(Rio)	217	41	47	218	39	45
Mexico City, Mexico	(Mex)	988	9	36	1153	9	34

The children listed under USA include the combined totals of children from Knoxville, Benton Harbor and Cedar Rapids (sixth grade). The 50 USA teachers are from Los Angeles County, California.

In Tables 1 to 7 we have presented for two stories percentages of stories in which certain selected categories have been coded. These stories and categories illustrate both our methods of content analysis and our findings.

The percentages for the two groups of teachers are presented against a backdrop of story completions of over 5,000 children from 17 locations previously reported (11).

C. RESULTS

1. The "Lost Meat" Story

A-2, the *Lost Meat* story reads as follows:

Michael's mother sends him to the store to get one pound of wieners. On the way home he puts the package of meat on the edge of the sidewalk and plays for a short time with his friends. A shepherd dog darts forward quickly, claws half the wieners out of the package and rushes away with them. Michael wraps up the remaining wieners and takes them home. What does Michael say to his mother? What does his mother do? How does Michael then feel about it? Think about these questions, then *finish* this story quickly with a few sentences.

As a background for discussing the dynamic relating in the interacting between Michael and his mother we shall comment briefly on another story.

In the United States' culture there is a story about George Washington that has almost become a legend. George Washington had been given a new hatchet, and it happened that in trying out the new blade George cut down a small cherry tree which his father had planted. His father, finding the cherry tree cut down, confronted George. The legend is that George replied, "Father, I cannot tell a lie. I did it with my little hatchet." The United States culture has given George Washington the complete credit for being a truthful boy. But this credit, we think, is based upon a misinterpretation. An older legend from the Greeks tells us that Diogenes started out with a

lantern to find an honest man. Today we can understand that Diogenes failed to find an honest man, not because his lantern was too dim, but because there is no such thing as an honest man. There are only situations of relating in which honesty is evoked.

For the George Washington story it is not surprising that for generations the credit for being truthful has been erroneously placed uniquely on the boy. The American culture has failed to perceive—even yet—that the credit for truth-telling should be shared by George *and* his father. It is only to some fathers than children can tell the truth. Honesty is not a trait; honesty is a relating.

In the *Lost Meat* story we have asked children in eight countries in effect to tell us: Do you think it is safe for Michael to tell the truth to his mother? Do you think Michael's mother *deserves* the truth? We asked the children to write about Michael because it would be easier and safer to write about someone else.

In the *Lost Meat* story, Michael was credited with telling the truth if he told his mother (*a*) that he laid the package of meat down; or (*b*) that he played with friends; or both. If Michael merely said that a dog took the meat, that was coded as an irrelevant truth or an evasion of the truth.

The differences of children's completions in the 17 locations for all categories used in this report were significant by the chi-square test at the .05 level or better.

We do not have a sample of children from Los Angeles County. So in order to compare the story completions of the 50 teachers from Los Angeles County in the *Ideal Group*, the data for children in Knoxville, Benton Harbor and Cedar Rapids given in Table 1 were combined and a new per cent for the combined data was computed. Similarly, new chi-square tests of significance of differences for the three samples designated in Table 1, USA, Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, were computed for the *Lost Meat* story categories. The new chi-square tests for these three locations were all significant beyond the .001 level.

In the right hand side of Table 1 we have repeated the per cents for the combined USA children and for those from Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City. We also show the percentages of stories in which *Michael tells truth* written by teachers in the *Control Group* and by the teachers in the *Ideal Group*.

When teachers were asked to finish the story as they think seventh-grade children would finish them, how do the teachers' stories compare with the stories actually written by children?

TABLE 1
MICHAEL TELLS TRUTH
(Cat. 21-1, 2, 3, 4)

N	Children's completions		Children's completions		Teachers' completions		Chi-square
	Location	%	Loc.	%	Control group %	Ideal group %	
288	Benton Harbor, Michigan (BnH)	61.0	USA	59.3	—	86.0	13.98***
225	Knoxville, Tennessee (Knx)	60.0					
398	Birmingham, England (Bhm)	59.1					
209	Helsinki, Finland (Hel)	56.8					
225	Drammen, Norway (Drm)	56.0					
170	Cedar Rapids, Iowa (CRT)	55.3					
217	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Rio)	48.4	Rio	48.4	70.7	—	6.90**
146	Stockholm, Sweden (Stk)	47.9	Rio	48.4	—	80.8	16.40***
506	Hamburg, Germany (Ham)	47.9	Rio	—	70.7	80.8	1.23
413	San Juan, Puerto Rico (SnJ)	47.6					
287	Munich, Germany, 1960 (MuS)	40.9					
988	Mexico City, Mexico (Mex)	39.1	Mex	39.1	33.3	—	#
1098	Karlsruhe, Germany (Kar)	37.8	Mex	39.1	—	63.9	8.92**
335	Munich, Germany, 1954 (Mun)	36.5	Mex	—	33.3	63.9	2.75
110	Tecómitl, Mexico (Tel)	24.5	X ²	66.37***	3.00	6.30*	
99	Tepoztlán, Mexico (Tpz)	24.4					
63	Chiconcuac, Mexico (Ccc)	19.1					

5777

Hypotheses: Children in the more democratic cultures will have: (a) higher frequencies of stories in which Michael tells truth to his mother (Table 1); (b) lower frequencies of stories in which Michael evades truth or tells lie (Table 2); and (c) higher frequencies of Mother's non-hostile confronting (Table 3).

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

• Significant at the .05 level.

** Significant at the .01 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

In this story there is no such *Control Group* of teachers from USA.

Rio de Janeiro *Control Group* teachers had a significantly higher per cent of stories in which *Michael tells truth* than did the *children* in Rio de Janeiro.

The nine teachers in the *Control Group* from Mexico City actually had a lower per cent of stories in which *Michael tells truth* than did the children; the difference, however, was not significant.

Did Michael tell the truth in the stories written by teachers who were asked to finish the story in the way that is best for all persons involved in the story? Not all of them. Only from 63.9 per cent in Mexico City to 86.0 per cent in Los Angeles County. When compared with the children, however, the teachers in the *Ideal Group* in the three locations had consistently and significantly higher percentages of stories in which *Michael tells truth*.

In both Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City the teachers in the *Ideal Group* had higher percentages of *tells truth* than did the teachers in the *Control Group*, the difference between the two groups of Mexico City teachers approaching significance at the .05 level.

For both the children and the teachers, then, the percentages of truth telling were high for the USA stories and low for the stories from Mexico City, the differences among the children and among the teachers being statistically significant.

For the children and for both groups of teachers this category reveals consistent cultural differences. It was our hypothesis that in the more democratic cultures there will be higher frequencies of valid communication in conflict situations: in this story the valid communication was: *Michael tells truth* to his mother.

Table 2 shows for children and for teachers percentages of stories in which *Michael evades truth* or *tells lie*. Consistent with our hypotheses about the impact of authoritarianism on children it can be seen that the three lowest percentages are in continental United States. Moreover, the seven locations of children with highest percentages of *Michael evades truth*; *tells lie* include only Mexican and German locations.

Again, in Table 2 both children and teachers from continental United States were low in percentages; Mexico City children and teachers were high, with Rio de Janeiro samplings in between. The differences between children were highly significant; those between teachers in the *Ideal Group* approached significance at the .05 level.

In the use of punishment the teachers in the *Ideal Group* showed both cultural differences and similarities. Differences significant at the .01 level

TABLE 2
MICHAEL EVADES TRUTH; TELLS LIE
(Cat. 21-5, 6, 7, 8, 9)

Children's completions				Teachers' completions		Chi-square
Loc.	%	Loc.	%	Control group %	Ideal group %	
CRT	15.9					
BnH	25.7					
Knx	27.4	USA	23.9	—	12.0	3.70
Bhm	32.4					
Hel	36.3					
SnJ	38.6	Rio	39.1	29.3	—	1.44
Drm	38.7	Rio	39.1	—	19.2	6.75**
Rio	39.1	Rio	—	29.3	19.2	1.23
Tpz	42.2					
Stk	44.4					
Ham	46.1	Mex	48.6	66.6	—	#
Mex	48.6	Mex	48.6	—	33.4	3.28
MuS	50.9	Mex	—	66.6	33.4	3.33
Tcl	56.3					
Kar	56.9	X ²	105.48***	3.00	3.42	
Mun	57.9					
Ccc	66.6					

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

** Significant at the .01 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

were found in the use of *Verbal punishment*, with Mexico City 38.9 per cent, Rio de Janeiro 36.2 per cent and Los Angeles County teachers 10.0 per cent.

On the contrary, Los Angeles County teachers, writing what was best for all concerned, had 18.0 per cent of the stories in which there was *deprivation of material*. That is, Michael had to forego his allowance or take money from his piggy bank. In Mexico City only two teachers, and none in Rio de Janeiro, mentioned this kind of punishment.

From 48 to 58 per cent of the teachers wrote stories in which there was no mention or information about punishment, the differences not being significant.

If in the *ideal* solution the mother did not punish or scold or get angry what else could she do? Because we found in the children's stories a number of mothers who confronted Michael without anger or without other expressions of overt hostility, we introduced Category 30, *Mother's non-hostile confronting*, shown in Table 3. This is, in our judgment, a highly desirable category from a mental hygiene point of view. In this category the mother

TABLE 3
MOTHER'S NON-HOSTILE CONFRONTING
(Cat. 30-1, 2, 3)

Children's completions				Teachers' completions		Chi-square
				Control group %	Ideal group %	
Loc.	%	Loc.	%			
Drm	27.5					
Knx	23.6					
Hel	23.4	USA	20.6	—	42.0	12.40***
Stk	21.2					
CRT	20.0					
BnH	19.1	Rio	15.2	24.4	—	2.09
Rio	15.2	Rio	15.2	—	38.3	13.22***
SnJ	13.1	Rio	—	24.4	38.3	1.95
Mex	12.5					
Bhm	12.1					
Kar	8.7	Mex	12.5	0	—	#
Ham	8.0	Mex	12.5	—	16.7	.56
MuS	8.0	Mex	—	0	16.7	#
Tcl	4.5					
Mun	3.8	X ²	20.64***	#	6.65*	
Ccc	3.2					
Tpz	2.2					

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

* Significant at the .05 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

accepts the child as a child without approving of his behavior. She allows the child the possibility of making a mistake, allows him a lapse of attention; but she confronts or encounters Michael.

Category 30, *Mother's non-hostile confronting*, was subdivided for purposes of coding into three items: 30-1, *Mother instructs, criticizes without hostility*; 30-2, *Mother forgives, consoles, understands, without punishment*; and 30-3, in which the mother shows both kinds of behavior defined for 30-1 and 30-2. Such stories were counted separately. In Table 3 are included percentages for the total number of stories coded under the three items of Category 30, *Mother's non-hostile confronting*.

In Table 3 the percentages are relatively small and the range is low.

In the children's story completions in Table 3 it can be seen that the six highest locations were from continental United States and Scandinavian countries. The nine lowest percentages of *mother's non-hostile confronting* were for locations from Mexico, Germany, and Birmingham, England. Birmingham appeared in this group because punishment was consistently high in children's stories from Birmingham.

In Table 3, the rank orders of USA, Rio de Janeiro, and Mexico City for both children and teachers were again consistent, with differences highly significant for the children.

In both Rio de Janeiro and Los Angeles County the teachers in the *Ideal Group* wrote significantly higher frequencies of stories showing *Mother's non-hostile confronting* than did the children. The fact that in Mexico City there were no such stories among the nine *Control Group* teachers and that the difference between the *Ideal Group* of teachers and the children was not significant, was consistent with other findings in our data. Confronting in situations of conflict is not a common technique in any of these locations, but especially is this true in our Mexican data. The fact, however, that in Table 3 the percentages were all under 50 per cent leaves the conclusion that mothers generally cannot cope with children's mistakes without anger, hostility or violence—a cultural practice that could have its repercussions in our dealing with international relations.

2. The "Broken Window" Story

A-5, the *Broken Window* story reads as follows:

George and Tom are playing with a football. They know that they should not play football on the narrow space in front of the house. George gives the ball a strong kick and the ball hits a window and makes a big crack in it. Tom thought that someone had appeared behind the window. No one could have seen who had kicked the ball against the window. *Finish* this story with a few sentences. Tell how the two boys felt about it and what they did.

Completion of the *Broken Window* story involves certain cultural expectations or values. What is the intentionality toward the owner of the window of the boy who kicked the football? Does the kicker intend to communicate with the owner or will he run, hide, escape and exclude the owner? What, also, is the intentionality of the companion? Are the boys identified, and if so, voluntarily or involuntarily? Or, not at all? Was anything said in the story completion about apology or restitution?

The situation of the *Broken Window* story is not different fundamentally from the story about George Washington and his father's cherry tree, or from the story of the *Lost Meat*. What does one do when he has, through ignorance, carelessness, or, as in the *Broken Window* story, through negligence injured another person or damaged his property? The courts in our country have struggled with the law of torts for two centuries. What does civilization mean by "respect for the individual"? What kinds of behavior are required

in order to live harmoniously or peacefully with others? What, indeed, is the meaning of freedom? For if the boys have to run they are not free. Even if they escape they have only a temporary fiction of freedom.

What does the culture teach children to do in such situations? How early do children learn? What have these teachers written as their *ideal* solutions, as the best for all persons involved in the story?

TABLE 4
KICKER'S INTENT TO COMMUNICATE
(Cat. 31-1, 2)

Children's completions					Teachers' completions		Chi-square
N	Loc.	%	Loc.	%	Control group %	Ideal group %	
220	Knx	71.8					
167	CRT	65.3					
285	BnH	63.8	USA	66.8	—	84.0	6.32*
223	Drm	60.1					
209	Hel	55.0					
158	Stk	52.5	Rio	44.9	38.5	—	.57
435	Bhm	50.4	Rio	44.9	—	48.9	.23
218	Rio	44.9	Rio	—	38.5	48.9	.92
531	SnJ	41.6					
278	MuS	41.5					
487	Ham	40.6	Mex	29.1	22.2	—	#
328	Mun	35.1	Mex	29.1	—	44.1	3.56
1153	Mex	29.1	Mex	—	22.2	44.1	1.43
821	Kar	26.4					
62	Ccc	8.1	X ²	245.85***	0.28	18.00***	
94	Tpz	7.4					
99	Tcl	7.0					
5768							

Hypotheses: Children in the more democratic cultures will have: (a) higher frequencies of stories in which the Kicker of the football communicates or *intends* to communicate with the owner (Table 4); (b) lower frequencies in which the Kicker *intends not to communicate* (Table 5); (c) higher frequencies of stories in which there is *voluntary restitution by the boys* (Table 6); (d) lower frequencies of *involuntary restitution*; and (e) lower frequencies of *no restitution by the boys* (Table 7).

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

* Significant at the .05 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

Table 4 shows for 5,768 children in 17 locations percentages of stories in which the Kicker intended to communicate to the owner of the window the knowledge of the damage. The category in Table 4 thus represents a high cultural value. It represents an intent to communicate validly and honestly,

to respect the owner, and, to this extent, to live harmoniously; all postulated for high creativity. Hypotheses were that in highly democratic locations there would be high percentages of communication; in highly authoritarian cultures the percentages would be lower. Cultural groups are seen to cluster again in Table 4. The three continental United States samplings had the highest percentages. Next in rank order were the three Scandinavian locations. Conspicuously at the bottom were the three rural Mexican villages; immediately above were Mexico City and the four German samplings.

The children from Rio de Janeiro and San Juan, as in all these tables, tended to fall near the middle of the range: never extremely authoritarian nor extremely democratic by comparison with children in the other locations.

The rank orders for children and for teachers were consistent, with USA high and Mexico City low, the differences being significant at the .001 level for both children and teachers.

Only Los Angeles County teachers in the *Ideal Group*, however, were significantly higher than the children.

Table 5 gives percentages of stories in which the *Kicker intended not to*

TABLE 5
KICKER'S INTENT NOT TO COMMUNICATE
(Cat. 31-3, 4)

Children's completions				Teachers' completions		Chi-square
Loc.	%	Loc.	%	Control group %	Ideal group %	
Kar	63.6					
Tcl	61.6					
Mex	56.8	USA	24.1	—	14.0	2.65
Mun	56.4					
Tpz	55.3					
Ccc	54.8	Rio	34.4	59.0	—	8.47**
MuS	54.0	Rio	34.4	—	48.9	3.35
Ham	49.7	Rio	—	59.0	48.9	.85
Stk	43.1					
Bhm	42.1					
Hel	40.2	Mex	56.8	77.7	—	#
SnJ	38.8	Mex	56.8	—	50.0	.62
Rio	34.4	Mex	—	77.7	50.0	2.23
Drm	32.2					
CRT	27.6	X ²	187.92***	0.45	16.70***	
BnH	27.4					
Knx	17.4					

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

** Significant at the .01 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

communicate with the owner of the window. In such stories the boys usually ran or tried to hide. The eight locations of children at the top of this rank order included the four Mexican and the four German locations. At the bottom of the distribution were the three continental United States locations, approached closely by the children from Drammen, Norway, and Rio de Janeiro.

Against this background of children's story completions what did the teachers write? The Los Angeles County teachers were lower, but not significantly lower than the USA children. The Los Angeles County teachers were significantly lower than the teachers in the *Ideal Group* for both Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, whose percentages were practically identical at 48.9 and 50.0, respectively.

For both Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City the differences were not significant between teachers in the *Control Group* and the *Ideal Group*. Though in both locations the percentages were lower for the *Ideal Group*, they were not significantly lower.

In both Latin American locations the *Control Group* teachers, writing as they thought seventh-grade children would finish the stories, had higher frequencies of running and trying to escape, than in the children's stories, the difference being significant at the .01 level for Rio de Janeiro.

If two boys break a neighbor's window, do they make, or plan to make, restitution? Table 6 gives percentages of stories in which the boys made, planned, or intended *voluntary restitution*. Conspicuously separated, as a cluster from all other locations in the children's story completions, were the three continental United States samplings at the top of the rank order. In sharp contrast at the bottom were the three Mexican villages. The remaining locations were not markedly differentiated.

The Los Angeles County teachers, writing their ideas as to what was best for all persons involved in the story, had only 48.0 per cent of their stories in which there was *voluntary restitution*, with no difference from the 48.7 per cent of stories written by the continental United States children. From this it would appear that the courts of the United States may have to struggle with the laws of torts for another 200 years!

Teachers in Rio de Janeiro in both *Control* and *Ideal Groups* had lower expectations of *voluntary restitution* than the children actually wrote though the differences were not significant.

The Mexico City teachers in the *Control Group*, writing as they thought seventh-grade children would finish the stories, had the same percentage of stories as the children in which the boys made *voluntary restitution*. The

TABLE 6
VOLUNTARY RESTITUTION BY BOYS
(Cat. 36-1, 2, 3, 4)

Children's completions				Teachers' completions		Chi-square
Loc.	%	Loc.	%	Control group %	Ideal group %	
Knx	49.5					
BnH	48.7					
CRT	47.4	USA	48.7	—	48.0	.05
Rio	29.8					
Drm	29.2					
Hel	26.8	Rio	29.8	15.4	—	3.45
MuS	24.8	Rio	29.8	—	20.0	1.77
Bhm	24.6	Rio	—	15.4	20.0	.30
Ham	23.4					
Stk	23.4					
Mex	21.2	Mex	21.2	22.2	—	#
Mun	20.1	Mex	21.2	—	41.2	7.69**
SnJ	17.9	Mex	—	22.2	41.2	1.09
Kar	14.9					
Ccc	6.4		148.88***	0.00	8.47*	
Tpz	5.3					
Tcl	4.0					

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

* Significant at the .05 level.

** Significant at the .01 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

Mexico City *Ideal Group* of teachers had approximately twice as many stories as either the children or the *Control Group* of teachers. The difference in comparison with the children was significant, but not significant in comparison with the *Control Group* of teachers.

In comparing the teachers in the *Ideal Group* in the three locations, the Rio de Janeiro teachers had the lowest percentages of *voluntary restitution*, the differences being significant.

Table 7 shows percentages of stories in which the boys made *no restitution* or there was *no mention of restitution*. For all samples of both children and teachers, except for USA, the percentages were 50.0 or higher. In the USA samples the difference between teachers and children was not significant. Both groups of teachers in Rio de Janeiro had higher percentages than the children, though these differences were also not significant. Clearly the children in the United States and in Rio de Janeiro had little to learn from their teachers on the social value of restitution of damaged property. In Mexico City the situation was reversed. The only significant difference between teachers and children in Table 7 was for the Mexico City *Ideal Group*.

TABLE 7
NO RESTITUTION BY BOYS
(Cat. 36-7, 8, 9)

Children's completions				Teachers' completions		Chi-square
Loc.	%	Loc.	%	Control group %	Ideal group %	
Ccc	90.4					
Tpz	87.3					
Tel	85.9	USA	40.3	—	46.0	.62
SnJ	76.3					
Kar	70.3					
Mex	66.5	Rio	64.7	79.5	—	3.28
Rio	64.7	Rio	64.7	—	73.3	1.25
Stk	61.3	Rio	—	79.5	73.3	.44
Hel	60.3					
Mun	59.8					
Ham	57.5	Mex	66.5	77.7	—	#
MuS	55.7	Mex	66.5	—	50.0	4.02*
Drm	55.6	Mex	—	77.7	50.0	2.23
Bhm	51.5					
CRT	42.0		124.22***	0.12	8.02*	
BnH	41.1					
Knx	38.6					

Frequencies too small for Chi-square test.

* Significant at the .05 level.

*** Significant at the .001 level.

This group actually gave significantly less attention to restitution than did the children. The teachers in Mexico City could have learned about this moral value from the children themselves.

D. DISCUSSION

An assumption basic to all projective techniques is that one's fantasy responses are derived from past experiences and reflect directly or symbolically one's perceptions, experiences, and needs. A limitation of all projective techniques is the problem of establishing in precise fashion the relation between fantasy and reality. Do children and adults behave differently in different locations, or do they merely write different stories?

Whatever the relation between fantasy and behavior, there were large and consistent differences in the fantasy productions of children and teachers in these different geographical samplings. Important to note is the fact that these differences, however large, were relative: they represented not all-or-none, but more-and-less as expressed in percentages. If authoritarianism was reflected in the German and Mexican stories it was present also, though only in lesser degree, in all the other locations.

Projective techniques, as psychological instruments or measuring devices, when used for purposes of individual diagnosis, are known to be low in reliability and low in validity. On the basis of the categories from our coding manuals, interpreted broadly in terms of values, the *Anderson Incomplete Stories* have not elicited erratic, whimsical, or chance responses. In these story completions there are, on the contrary, internal consistencies noteworthy for any projective technique.

E. SUMMARY

The *Anderson Incomplete Stories* have been administered to over 200 seventh-grade children in Rio de Janeiro, 900 children in Mexico City, and 600 children in Continental United States. They have been administered to "Ideal Groups" of teachers in Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, and Los Angeles County, California, with instructions to finish the stories in a way that is "best for all persons in the story;" and to "Control Groups" of teachers in Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, who were instructed to complete the stories as they think seventh-grade children would finish them.

Percentages of stories containing certain categories from two stories, the *Lost Meat* and the *Broken Window*, are reported. For the *Lost Meat* story, the categories were: *tells truth, evades truth or tells lie, and mother's non-hostile confronting*. For the *Broken Window* story, selected categories were: *Kicker's intent to communicate with owner, Kicker's intent not to communicate, voluntary restitution by the boys, and no restitution by the boys*. Comparisons were made between percentages of stories written by children and by teachers in the *Control* and *Ideal* groups for the three locations.

The hypotheses grew out of previous research on dominative and socially integrative teacher-child relations in American schoolrooms. The theoretical relation of democratic and dictatorial human inter-acting to the development of values and of social creativity in children is discussed. The findings generally and consistently support the hypotheses.

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Department of Psychology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan